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ABSTRACT

Dunlap, Kansas, identified as a stereotypical dying small town in a 1962 study, was restudied in 1974-75 in an effort to test the dying small town hypothesis (supported only by aggregate census data and casual observation rather than by specific studies). Researchers using unobtrusive observation of Dunlap and seven nearby unincorporated villages, documentary research, and a formal interview of one third of Dunlap's 102 residents, found the dying small town stereotype to be misleading. It was determined the marketplace had shifted, part going to larger trade centers and the remainder changed to an expanded household economy; yet, complex community activities and social subgroupings continued to provide Dunlap with cohesiveness. In and around Dunlap both labor-intensive and capital-intensive types of production were evident and residents had positive expectations for the future. It was suggested that the fate of such towns lies in the decisions of state and federal public policy making bodies on such issues as discontinuing rural Post Offices, elementary school attendance centers, and flood control projects, all of which would directly affect Dunlap and that these small towns can and should organize to consider cooperative programs, mobile health care, etc., if they wish to conserve an alternative form of American social life. (SB)

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Community Staying Power:

a small rural place and its role in rural development

RC 012139

Louis H. Douglas

Scott Shelley

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Contents

Acknowledgements 5

Chapter 1, Introduction 6
Area Map 9
Method 11

Chapter 2, Dunlap-Looking Backward 15
The Railroad Years 1869-1962 15
Black Migration 17
Abandoned Black Church 18
Another Migration 19
Imposed Public Policy and Loss of Sustaining Infrastructure 21
Summary in a General Context 24

Chapter 3, Dunlap-Place and People 1974-75 29
Looking Outward 29
Looking Inward 32
"Community" and Quality of Living 33
Postmaster, Dunlap, Ks. 34
A House Out in the Country 37

Chapter 4, Options and a Look Forward 41
Classroom, Dunlap Elementary School 42
Classroom, Dunlap Elementary School 44
The Politics of Hope 45
A Concluding Note 51

Appendix 1 56

Appendix 2 61

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1. Introduction

This is a case study of a small rural place in Kansas named Dunlap City. It is clearly appropriate that the word "city" be dropped from the name as is the custom of cartographers and most historians in references to the small villages that are so numerous in the State. When the name Dunlap is used here one may think of any of the small rural places in Kansas, or in any of the northern plains states. Although the method we used emphasizes the particularistic, some generalizations should be discernible. In making generalizations in this study, we used "small rural place," and sometimes "village" or "small town." The connotation "small rural place" does not differentiate between those that are incorporated and those that are not. This is not to suggest that incorporation is inconsequential. It provides identity and formal powers and functions of importance.[2] Before 1951 Kansas law provided for incorporating, as a third class city, a settled place of not fewer than 100 and not more than 2000 people by county commissioners acting in response to a petition signed by a majority of eligible voters of the area incorporated.[3]

In general, case studies of towns, small and large, have yielded important and interesting insights into social and political organization and processes. But an overriding reason for yet another case study is that the last thorough case study of a village under 300 population was done 30 years ago.[4]

Studies of "small" communities since then have focused on places of 2500 and more.[5] Smaller places are dealt with in aggregates or subsumed under a widely accepted stereotype.

Let us consider the *stereotype* of the small rural place. Its main elements are: (1) the population is made up for the most part of people in their retirement years; thus few families have small children; the young abandon the community and no replacements move in, so the population constantly declines, (2) those left behind are there because they lack aptitude for "getting ahead," (3) the small town lacks the minimum essentials for cultural enrichment, therefore its inhabitants are culturally deprived. The conclusion is that small towns, anachronisms in today's integrating society, are slowly but surely dying and thus arises the "dying small town" hypothesis.

That there is some truth in the hypothesis is apparent. A case study will neither confirm nor deny the stereotype. It may, however, raise some doubts as to its universality or, on the other hand, refine and expand it.

There may not be time to do more before changing life styles in the United States alter in unpredictable ways the values from which the powerful drives for political and economic integration have come.

Instead of studies in some depth of small rural villages and unincorporated communities, surveys of aggregate census data and casual observation have been used to support the stereotype. The obvious outward signs of physical deterioration support the "imminent death" thesis. Such signs include delapidated homes, empty houses and business buildings, unused vacant lots, and a general absence of the type of activities that one expects to find in a live community.

The standards by which the existence of a small town may be said to be terminated will be briefly considered. This will be followed by a determination of the factors that account for their survival despite the presence of the very criteria under which survival has been judged highly improbable. Survival having been accomplished in a highly unfavorable setting suggests value in exploring alternatives by which rural farm-oriented hamlets can be incorporated in the policies and programs of rural development in a manner that will fulfill the need for small-scale community development.

We selected Dunlap, Kansas, as an appropriate small village to study by neither a "scientific" process nor *a priori* knowledge of the place. Rather it was the result of curiosity aroused by Dunlap having been chosen more than a decade ago (1962) as an example of a "dying small town," and having been thus portrayed by a major network in one of the early television documentaries on current social problems.

In the documentary, briefly titled *The Land*, the National Broadcasting Company sought to portray the cultural changes and dislocations brought to the rural life of mid-America by the rapid growth of agricultural technology. Inevitably giving way to the pressures of increasing size of farm operations and required increases in capital inputs were small-scale farmers and small villages dependent upon a populated countryside for markets.

The theme of *The Land* was the inevitability of rural townships and counties losing population to urban and metropolitan centers, and villages losing their purpose for existence and being sacrificed to the requirements of bigness and large-scale economies. Implied in this change, of course, was a correlation between size and well-being, defined as growth,

INCORPORATED TOWNS	POPULATIONS
1. Dwight	322
2. White City	458
3. Latimer	29
4. Parkerville	25
5. Council Grove	2,403
6. Wilsey	169
7. Dunlap	102
8. Elmdale	102
9. Strong City	545
10. Cottonwood Falls	987
11. Emporia	23,327
12. Neosho Rapids	234
13. Reading	247
14. Americus	441
15. Bushong	39
16. Allen	175
17. Admire	144

UNINCORPORATED TOWNS	
A. Skiddy	21
B. Kelso	10
C. Delevan	35
D. Burdick	40
E. Saffordville	8
F. Plymouth	15
G. Miller	30

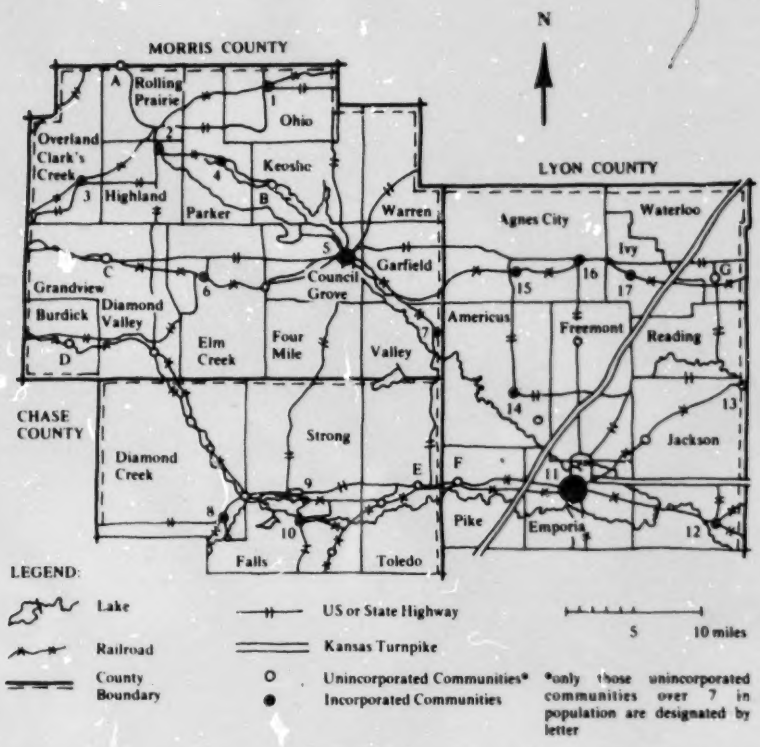


Figure 1—Map showing small places and townships surrounding Dunlap. In Morris County, townships shown are pre-1972. See text, p. 11.

9

prosperity, security, and cultural enrichment.

Thus Dunlap, Kansas, portrayed the soon-to-be ghost town. In the words of narrator Chet Huntley: "The people who remain in Dunlap . . . are waiting out the inflexible arithmetic of mortality and watching grass grow in the gutters of City Hall."[8]

A larger county seat town of 4500 was used to portray a town only a generation or so away from a similar fate, while Manhattan, Kansas, home of Kansas State University, was pictured as having the linkages with the technology that assured growth and development, and hence a secure place in the emerging order. Since the land-grant institution is a primary agent in the growth of agricultural technology and agri-business, Manhattan's future is secure.

The interpretation of rural life and culture described above set forth the simple prescription, "grow or disappear." But the prescription missed part of the reality of social change and resistance to change. Except in the rare and transient cases of "boom town" experiences such as have resulted from discoveries of rare natural resources or being selected as a site for a major government installation, growth to "acceptable" size was not within the realm of possibility. The other option, to disappear, was one of accepted practicality. Dunlap was described as in the process of disappearing for a long time, a process lasting long enough to be a phase of life in itself regardless of the final outcome.

When has a town finally died? When the last inhabitant is gone? Or when only one or two families remain? Or when there are only one or two businesses left? A precise answer is not known. It is presumed here that the test should be one of *community*, and the question of living or dying would be determined by the presence or absence of a sense of collective interest. The presence of individual residents is not enough. The sense of group identity, interactions among individuals and households, may give way to individual interests and/or shared interests outside the area under consideration. That condition could result from assimilation into a larger community or by the specialization of individual interests to such an extent that collective interests are destroyed. The appearance of these conditions are observable as suburbs spread over rural areas and as residents of the suburban and exurban areas pursue specialized interests that require commuting.[9] Such an atomistic, anti-community way of life is characteristic of urbanization. Urbanized and suburbanized areas score

high on the numbers standard but low on community identity. Thus, while some importance must be given to numbers, more is required. It was important to us to test the sense of community to be found among Dunlap's residents. Has life there amounted to no more for Dunlap's people than "waiting out the inflexible arithmetic of mortality?" Are there institutions: churches, schools, businesses that provide a framework for activities expressing collective self-interest? Do the attitudes and evaluations of residents indicate a mutual interdependence and interest in Dunlap as a community?

Method

The methods of investigating this problem took many forms. No one data-collecting instrument could be relied on; a combination of tactics was necessary.

The principal methods used with some success were:

1. Unobtrusive observation. While one does not drive through a village the size of Dunlap unnoticed, it is possible to "visit" without attracting great attention. Shelley, the junior author, was teaching in a nearby college as the project was getting under way. By attending church in Dunlap he was able to mix with, listen to, and ask questions of a relatively large number of Dunlap area people. His desire to take contemporary residence there provided many opportunities to become acquainted with people and become quite conversant with the community and its problems.

On-site observations yielded accurate estimates of the quality of housing, number of vacant homes, city lots available for use and present use of vacant lots, street maintenance, and use and appearance of parks, schools, and churches. Those observations were made, not secretly, but quietly and informally. Also observed were seven unincorporated villages within a 30-mile radius of Dunlap. The field trip to accomplish this provided knowledge of the environmental setting of rural villages of the area and at least an impressionistic sense of these tiny settlements. Not being incorporated, these places are thought to be in more precarious states than those with corporate charters.

The places visited ranged in population from six to eighty-four. In six of the seven places populations exceeded estimates provided by the county clerks of counties in which the villages are located—the seven unin-

corporated places as estimated by the county officials contained a total of 159 residents, while our estimate, based on a count of occupied houses and by local inquiries, was 309. Rural poverty was observable along with evidence of typical small-town activities. A more thorough study would be needed to compare these unincorporated places with tiny incorporated villages. The general tendency of the unincorporated places to have lower populations suggests that incorporation is associated with somewhat greater population holding power.[9]

2. Documentary research. Documents used were files of newspapers in the Kansas State Historical Library and the Council Grove public library, maps and records in the office of the Morris County Clerk, and materials from the Department of Water Resources in the State Office Building. Federal and state census reports were used extensively.

3. Formal interviews. A simple but carefully drawn questionnaire was prepared, tested, and administered to about a third of the population of Dunlap. The questionnaire dealt with information on social interaction in the community, nature of outside linkages, confidence in Dunlap and its future, and satisfaction with conditions and styles of life in Dunlap. A copy of the questionnaire is in the appendix.

The difficulties of such research are substantial. Often needed records were missing or incomplete. There was no continuous newspaper. Dunlap had a succession of short-lived weeklies none of which became well established. Information provided from memories often was fragmentary, sometimes contradictory, and varying in its utility. Given the constraints of time and responses it was impossible to get all, or even a substantial part, of the historical data that would have been useful in understanding Dunlap. Notwithstanding obstacles, this aspect of the project became more interesting as it proceeded.

The writers recognize their sympathetic bias toward the culture of small rural places. Douglas experienced the hopes raised by first New Deal agricultural programs (1933-1938) for redressing the economic balance for farmers, particularly tenants and marginal small farmers. He shared their frustration as program emphasis was shifted to favor powerful interests in agriculture at the expense of the powerless. Shelley was motivated to study, for his master's thesis, bias in contemporary farm programs, using as a model research done by Charles L. Schultze under the auspices of the Brookings Institution.[9]

All this is, of course, directly connected with the fate of the small towns, whose survival has been cast in doubt by the consolidation of farms. Not much at all is really known about the small rural villages of the west and North Central United States. Discourse about their culture, as pointed out earlier, has rested contentedly upon stereotypes. Yet in 1970, some 48,205 Kansas people lived in villages, incorporated and unincorporated, of under 250 inhabitants.[10] The writers' interest in this subject, in both empirical and normative dimensions, has been both increased and guided by E.E. Schumaker's recent book, *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered.*[11] His work convinced both writers that mainstream research was missing some profound and badly needed social concepts.

[1]Contribution No. 11, Department of Political Science, Kansas State University.

In accordance with the requirements of the Committee on the Use of Human Subjects, the confidentiality of persons who were interviewed is protected. Names of these persons are not used in the text, and questionnaires were read only by the research staff.

[2]Unincorporated settlements have less population holding power than those incorporated, yet their number and population are significant. In Kansas there were, in 1975, 300 unincorporated places with populations of seven or more, with a total population (est.) of 22,650.

[3]In 1951, the Kansas legislature passed an odd law: "any town . . . of not less than forty (people) and not more than 2000 and located in a county of more than fifty-two thousand and less than 60,000 may be incorporated. . . ." This bit of special legislation permitted Willowbrook (population 43), a small suburban place 5 miles from Hutchinson, to incorporate. In 1963, the legislature set the minimum size for incorporating at 300 and enacted much more stringent incorporation procedures, abolishing the special legislation of 1951.

[4]By Carl Withers, writing under a *nom de plume* as James West. The book, *Plainsville, U.S.A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), is a thorough and most laudable description and analysis of a village with a population of 247. As recently as 30 years ago, a place as small as 247 could support as many as a dozen retail stores. Today a village of that size does well if it holds two or three.

[5]E.g., Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in a Mass Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); Joseph P. Lyford, *The Talk in Vandalia* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964); Edward C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe, Il.: Free Press, 1958), and Robert Presthus, *Men at the Top: A Study in Community Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964). Populations of the small towns in the studies named above were, respectively: 2500, 3400; 5160; and (2 places) 6000 and 9000.

[6]The fact is that Dunlap changed very little since 1962. Population lost by 1970 was nearly recovered by 1974.

[7]The absence of any desire for or realization of community in modern urban life in the United States is brought out with amusing hyperbole in a satirical essay by Milton Mayer, entitled "Community, Anyone?" *The Center Magazine*, Vol. VIII, No. 5 (September-October 1975), pp. 2-6. Labelling the pretechnological community as "involuntary," Mayer proceeds to demolish any position embracing concern for preservation or restoration of communities. "We are political animals incidentally, and as little as possible."

[8]Figure 1, p. 10 shows the incorporated and unincorporated places in the area around Dunlap.

[9]Charles L. Schultze, *Distribution of Farm Subsidies: Who Gets the Benefits?* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1971).

[10]Populations of incorporated places are conveniently collated in Cornelia Flora, *Reference Tables: Population Change of Counties and Incorporated Places in Kansas* (Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station, Manhattan, Kansas, June, 1971). Populations of unincorporated places were estimated by means of a post card survey of county clerks.

[11]New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1973. This book is one economist's case for the growth of a culture of smaller units, greater diversity, and broader humanistic values in the political economy of the United States.

2. Dunlap—Looking Backward

A history of Dunlap City, Kansas, remains to be written. The intent here was not to put together a complete history (a fascinating, though difficult, task). It was minimally essential to piece together and interrelate the elements of the past that had been most influential in shaping the Dunlap of today. Those elements found were: (1) the coming and the closing of the railroad, (2) the interracial experience, (3) in-migration after 1920 and resulting class cleavage, and (4) the loss of helpful infrastructure and regionalization of government.

The Railroad Years 1869–1962

The first railroad to enter Morris County was the Union Pacific Southern Branch, later a part of the Kansas, Missouri, and Texas railway, nicknamed the "Katy." The first segment of this system in Kansas ran from Fort Riley near Junction City, to Parsons, Kansas, and on to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). The voting residents of Morris County voted by 170 to 25 in favor of issuing $165,000 in bonds to purchase railway stock to aid in construction.[1] Council Grove was reached October, 1869, and Emporia the following December. Dunlap was founded and settled on the Katy line, between Council Grove and Emporia, conforming with the requirement that a town be established at intervals of not more than ten miles on railway lines.

The settlement grew rapidly following the establishment of the Dunlap Town Company, incorporated in 1875 by J.W. Pritchard, J.W. Watson, Joseph Dunlap, and J.G. Dunlap. It was reincorporated two years later by Joseph Dunlap, R.M. Clark, L. Still, Day Parsons, Erwin Buler, L.A. Johnson, W.H. Irwin, and John Dowd. Incorporation by the county commissioners as a third class city was twelve years later, January 10, 1887. A reliable census of its population at the time of incorporation is unavailable. It was reported by the U.S. Census Bureau to be 408 in 1890 and to have declined every decade following 1890 to [illegible]0. It is reasonable to assume that 1890 approximately marked the high point in population. Estimates in local newspapers of up to 750 undoubtedly included the population of some of the area surrounding the town limits and perhaps also some optimism.

Dunlap was thus a product of the land speculation, railroad building era of 1865-1890—forces not best suited to rational and orderly selection

of town sites. The railroad offered land for a town site at another location, but did not resist the preference of the Dunlap Town Company, under the leadership of Joseph Dunlap, for one selected on land Dunlap had acquired. The town site was a quarter of a section, a ½ mile square, divided by the railroad tracks, and partly consisting of creek bottom land subject to more or less flooding almost yearly. Obviously, the site would not have been chosen on the basis of acceptable criteria of stable town development. The location served the immediate interests of the dominant economic forces of the time—speculators in railroads and land.[2]

Although the location of Dunlap was based on standards of somewhat doubtful merit, the "city" was favored in several respects. The surrounding area was potentially productive in diverse ways. There were cropland and grazing land, both of excellent quality, and normally sufficient rainfall for development of high agricultural output. A stone quarry was opened in the early 1880s with prospects of employing up to fifty workmen. Dunlap was its shipping point. The Dunlap *Chief* commented that "Dunlap is surrounded with fine magnesium limestone and messrs. Pickering and Summers have opened a quarry and are engaged in shipping this stone to various parts of this state and Missouri, this stone being unsurpassed for cutwork."[3]

Dunlap lost population, as indicated by Table I, every decade after 1890 except for 1950. At the same time, at least up to 1920, the town's commercial infrastructure continued to grow.[4]

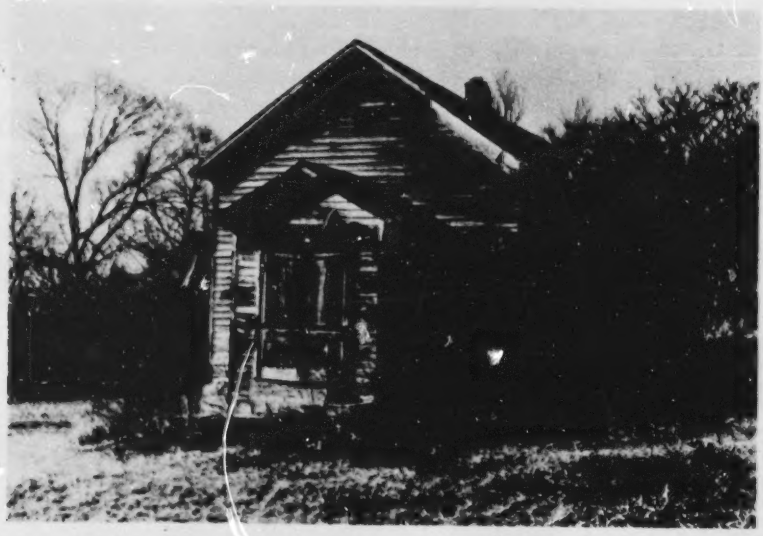
The key to the economic development of Dunlap, from its founding through the first quarter of the 20th century, was the railroad industry and its services. The railroad was the most used and useful connection with the outside world of business and commerce. Even as motor transportation began to become competitive, Dunlap's relative isolation from highways encouraged a continued reliance upon the Katy line. Thus it was more than a normal loss when, in 1952, the last passenger run from Junction City to Dunlap to Emporia and points south was made. On this occasion parents took children for a last memorial ride—from Dunlap to the next station stop, with prearranged return by car. Ten years later freight traffic likewise was discontinued. Shortly thereafter the rails were salvaged, reducing tax liability, and the first Katy line in Kansas was no more.

Black Migration

Shortly after the founding of the Dunlap Town Company and before Dunlap became a chartered third class city (in 1887), an exceptionally interesting and unusual event occurred that greatly influenced the social structure and increased the population of Dunlap and the surrounding township. This was the arrival in 1878 of a party of about 300 black immigrants from the States that had undergone the trauma of secession, defeat, and reconstruction.[5] This group was one of several organized by Benjamin Singleton and brought into Kansas as a part of the "Black Exodus." Other groups of freedmen followed and by 1890 the population of Valley township was about evenly divided between blacks and whites. In 1887 the Freedmens Association of Dunlap established a prospective center for black cultural development, the Freedmen's Academy, designed to educate the young in the main departments of commercial, literary, and practical arts. Unfortunately, the academy was comparatively shortlived and its impression on the community cannot be accurately evaluated now. According to older residents, whose parents were on the scene in the 1890's, the academy was important and appreciated. When a group of elder citizens was asked when the Black Academy was closed, one said "Why do you call it a 'Black' Academy? My mother went there." The answer seemed to represent a relaxed racial attitude that may have prevailed at the turn of the century. The Academy in its time represented relatively high educational and social standards and apparently was, in the absence of a public high school, attended by some of the white children.

But granting this evidence of at least a few years of benign relationships in one institutional setting, evidence mounts with respect to more negative types of interaction both before and after the years of the Academy. First, the journey to Dunlap was made in unattended railroad cars according to two of Dunlap's senior citizens, "just like cattle," and the families were unceremoniously dumped out to fend for themselves.[6] The area provided for them was hilly and rocky, the last choice for a site to subdivide, as provided, into 10-acre lots, for intensive subsistence farming. Some lived for months without housing, sometimes taking shelter in one of the brush hollows on their land.

By 1920, residential segregation was tightly enforced, and the humiliation of a segregated cemetery was maintained. A separate elemen-



Church Abandoned by Blacks, Dunlap, KS

tary school was provided after the Academy closed, a room in the Academy building having been previously used. Segregated elementary education prevailed. When Dunlap established a public high school in 1912, the question again arose. The constitutional rule at the time accepted segregation—if the separate facilities were equal. If separate facilities were lacking, the assumption would be that the facility was integrated. Some blacks attended, far fewer than proportionate to their part of the population. The senior class pictures from 1920 until the high school closed in 1962 decorate the wall of the entrance hall of the gymnasium-auditorium now used for activities of the elementary school. Among these pictures are at least four black students—four of around 300 graduates.

By 1950 the black experience of Dunlap had ended. The exodus from Reconstruction into the Free Soil state of Kansas was concluded with an exodus from rural Kansas to urban destinations often out of state. Although the population of Dunlap as a whole had been declining slowly but steadily, the greater loss was among the black population, reducing as it did their numbers almost to zero. The depression of the thirties fell with exceptional severity upon the blacks, and the farm mechanization of the forties brought severe unemployment to farm labor and farm tenants, the livelihood of many blacks.

On balance, the experience of black colonization in Dunlap was short and unhappy. Some of both races no doubt benefited from the experience and in the early years there were times that seemed to hold promise. But put to the severe tests of depression and ongoing unemployment, the segregated and unequal society gave way.[7] All members of the community were hurt by the depression, emotionally and spiritually as well as economically—the blacks were wiped out. One of the research assistants on this project, studying the four black faces among the pictures of Dunlap High's graduating classes, remarked: "Dunlap must be an unusual place. There aren't many rural towns in Kansas where those kids would have made it through high school."

Another Migration

The founders and early settlers of Dunlap and Valley township were a part of the post Civil War wave of westward migration into Kansas from

the northeast, especially from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, and many families were established in business or farming before 1900. As members of a community, they were fairly homogeneous, adhering to a common body of moral and social values—those values can in general be described as "the Protestant ethic" of rural Middle America as distinguished from urban. Successive generations of such early families assumed responsibility for the public well-being of Dunlap. As the community declined, the duties of guardianship became even more important and these established families, slowly declining in number, held firmly to their responsibilities. At the same time, it became more difficult to attract into positions of leadership each younger generation. Often their education dictated that they should seek careers away from Dunlap. They were educated for opportunities and careers no longer existing, if they ever did, in the home town.

Thus without in-migration Dunlap would be extremely small. There has, in fact, been continuing in-migration of families into Dunlap—families with cultural and behavioral patterns distinctively different from those of the "old" families. Most distinct was a group of families from western Virginia and eastern Tennessee, uprooted by the relentless mining and lumbering technologies applied to much of the region known as Appalachia.[8]

The life-styles of these two groups have not divided the total population of the town into two clear-cut and separated groups but rather have placed them toward opposite ends of a continuum bridged by the several families that have moved into Dunlap who are not members of either group, though in most cases they tend to "look" in one direction or the other.[9]

Conversations with nearly half of the adult (over 18) residents of Dunlap provided certain meaningful insights regarding the following divergent views of the two groups. (1) Both are clearly conscious of their differences in origins and life-style, (2) the members of old families retain an image of the Dunlap of fifty years or more ago, either from their own experience or implanted by their parents—in either case they judge Dunlap by memories of its past and with nostalgia, (3) they also judge newcomers by their ability to empathize with this view—most fail, (4) the newcomers in most cases feel that they are not fully accepted, usually a correct perception, and (5) in some cases, in-migrants have assumed to a

large degree the values of the old families and have found hard work, frugality, tradition, and conservatism congenial.

In addition to these sets of people, there is a small recent in-migrant group that does not relate to the above scheme in any consistent way. They are members of the work forces of the larger neighboring towns, attracted to Dunlap by its fairly low cost of living, particularly housing.[10] They may be the least permanent residents as they have neither the ties of memory of Dunlap's greater past as do the First Families nor the familial bonds that the Appalachian families have to hold them.

This section will be closed with a look into a portion of the information yielded by the formal interviews. Of forty-two interviews taken, thirteen were of individuals belonging to the Appalachian group. Ages of those thirteen were distributed as follows: 18-29 one; 30-39 six; 40-49 one; 50-59 one; 60-69 three; 70-79 one. The median age was thirty-seven. Of the nine Appalachian families in the interview sample, two moved to Dunlap in the 1970s; three in the 1960s; four in the 1950s. The earliest incoming family from Appalachia arrived in 1932. This in-migration was at odds with the depopulation process commonly experienced by the small town. It did not prevent a steady net loss of population but did provide an infusion of comparatively young families.

It became clear that the analysis of the Dunlap community required recognition of these three distinct groups:
(1) those whose families had settled in Dunlap before 1900; (2) those families migrating to Dunlap from Appalachia after 1930, and (3) other families moving into Dunlap after 1940. By doing this, the analysis provided an explanation of the social and political change, status and power relations, and some measure of the social values and attitudes that we were seeking.

A very important demographic deviation from the norm for small rural places was also noted. This is shown in Table II below. Apparently the families in group two and, to a lesser extent, those in group three provided the population for the younger age groups.

Imposed Public Policy/Loss of Sustaining Infrastructure

Dunlap, Kansas, was a product of a federal policy that encouraged speculation in land and railroad construction for three decades after the Civil War. The processes that implemented transfer of a land tract from

the U.S. government to Indians; from Indian tribe to a railroad company; from the Kansas, Missouri, and Texas railroad to individuals formed into a development company, were not processes that included spokesmen for an interest in choosing the best available plans for a permanent and expanding community. The railroad management required a fuel and water stop and was either unconcerned about or ignorant of the nearly annual flooding to which a large portion of the selected site was prone. The small area included in the charter of incorporation, one-half mile square, suggest that an expansive future for Dunlap was not included in the otherwise optimistic outlook.

Although the decisions that brought Dunlap into existence were not focused on its best interests (a less flood-prone and a much larger site could have been chosen), the forces that were generated carried the city forward until about 1920 despite its falling population. Main street developed the usual retail services and facilities. One early resident recalled a department store, grocery store, a Farmers Union Co-op, drug store, an opera house, and funeral parlor among other facilities.[11] By 1920 there were two Negro churches, several white churches, two banks, a railroad with regular passenger service and heavy freight traffic; and a 4-year high school.

A stone quarry near town provided a demand for labor and shipping service. Yet the main reliance was upon grain and livestock marketed in Dunlap to provide income to support the services, governmental and commercial, that were provided.

Growth of business in Dunlap continued into the 1920s despite both the town and the surrounding township losing population. Yet midway in that decade the Farmers State Bank, whose assets had tripled between 1894 and 1919, was forced to close. It was a decade of nationwide agricultural depression for which no remedial national policy was successfully developed.

The effect of the Great Depression of the 1930s was much different. This was a total depression, striking the financial core of the nation and the great industrial machine was almost stopped, while farmers were producing what, in the absence of consumer purchasing power, was termed a surplus. The census reflects the return of some rural out-migrants of the previous decade in a substantial increase in the population of Valley Township, Dunlap's trading area. This pattern was offset by the droughts

of the middle and late 1930s in much of the Plains area, somewhat farther west.[12]

The prolonged depression (1921-1939) for agriculture accelerated the transformation of Dunlap from the traditional, viable, form of community, an active trading center linked with mutual benefits to the larger world of commercial and industrial activity, to the type of community no longer recognized as a community at all, but "just a wide place in the road," a "ghost town," one of our "dying small towns." The staying power of places, like Dunlap, their ability to continue to exist, attracted our interest and resulted in this study.

The return of a somewhat better domestic national economy after 1940 had little effect on the continued desertion of Dunlap's shopping area, the termination of railroad service, closing of the stone quarry, loss of the high school, and declining population. Publicized as a dying country village in 1962, Dunlap in 1973 had changed very little in a decade, but had changed a great deal from the old Dunlap of 1900 to 1920. Thus the first Dunlap has in fact been transformed and the present community could not be measured by the same standards. Some of the characteristics were discoverable and revealed the contrast with its predecessor. (1) The present Dunlap made no pretense of being a competitive trade center. Its market economy was almost nonexistent and had been gradually replaced by a household economy. A small line of convenience grocery items priced almost at cost was carried by the postmaster; a service station dispensed fuel, a small line of automotive supplies, and minor service for starting and repairing cars; a feed store and grain elevator fulfilled their usual functions. A church served the town and community and was the main social organization of the community. The grade school, an attendance center of Unified District 417, was a highly regarded institution, the last depository of civic pride, enrolling in 1974-1975 fifty-five students.

(2) The remains of several old commercial buildings stood as a reminder of the "old" Dunlap. They were a dismal contrast to the well-kept exteriors of the elementary school and community church. (3) Sidewalks were partially covered with gravel and the streets showed evidence of relatively light use and little maintenance. Those were the main features of the outward appearance of Dunlap.

Although the story of Dunlap is unique in details among the rural villages in Kansas with populations of fewer than 200, the outcome is one

that is shared widely, almost universally. While details of the natural history of these places vary, the underlying forces determining their destiny are much the same, not only in Kansas but regionally and to some extent nationally. Data presented up to this point have traced the particularistic details of Dunlap. Statements of broader applicability are now appropriate.

Summary in a General Context

The primary force in shaping United States agriculture since World War II has been the growth and application of a high-energy agricultural technology requiring large investments in land, equipment, and scientific know-how. This obvious fact of life in rural America is generally highly acclaimed by the press.

A major problem resulting from the growth of high-energy technology in agriculture has been the expansion in size and production of individual farm operations, mandating a reduction in numbers of farmers—fewer farmers producing more. Rather than sounding like a "problem," it sounds like a solution. Which it is depends on the point of view of the observer. It was an immediate problem for the remaining small farmers who lacked capital or for village businessmen who discovered that their customers were declining in number each year.

Loss of township and school district populations due to consolidation of farms presented equally difficult problems for local government officials. Local units became less functional as the types of services demanded changed with advancing technology. To meet the needs of the changing rural economic order institutional changes were called for in local government structures and functions. These came slowly but moved consistently in the direction dictated by the dominant mode of production. The "progressive" assumption was the transition should be and would be a total change—that a complete transformation would take place. This study raises the question as to the accuracy of this assumption and proposes the possibility of a dualistic agricultural system both as an existent fact and as heuristic policy.

It is not strange that the pressures for change after the consolidation of farms should be interpreted as a need to consolidate local governments. Most of the literature on local government from 1910 to 1950 was critical of the multitude of poorly coordinated local units. As rural population

declined, the need for consolidation became more and more obvious.[13]

Marked progress was achieved in school consolidation, townships found themselves stripped of many functions, reducing on the one hand the number of units and, on the other, the number and cost of services. At the same time the county governments, particularly rural ones, were not merged or consolidated as units. Instead, multi-county programs, such as engineering service, mental health clinics, social welfare services, and library service, became a trend that left counties intact.

The success of multi-county programs demonstrates the feasibility and desirability of expanded administrative areas (in cases where the state plays a major fiscal and policy-setting role). It is inaccurate, however, to think that such services include all the local governmental services needed. Services that are properly matters of statewide concern and susceptible to uniform statewide administration are easily identified. In Kansas, and in most states, many rural counties could profitably be consolidated by fours, sixes, or eights for the functions that have led some to describe county courthouses as having become field offices for the state administration. But the other face of county government—matters of local jurisdiction—is the concern of this paper. And the typical Kansas county is too large for matters of local jurisdiction.

Not all of the population of the United States lives in traditional communities. The traditional community is expendable. One aspect of modernization or economic development is the overrunning of communities and neighborhoods. As this happens social groups, professional organizations or similar kinds of entities often act as substitutes for communities.

The small rural village is one setting in which the community myth still prevails. A popular view is that these places must give way to progress so the people live elsewhere. Mayer depicted pre-technology villages as involuntary communities.[14] Our research makes opposite findings and we now turn to a more detailed description of those findings.

Table 1

Incorporated Cities in Morris County Kansas, Showing Populations, 1890-1970, and Populations of Townships in Which Located

Civil Divisions	1890[1]	1900[1]	1910[1]	1920[2]	1930[3]	1940[3]	1950[4]	1960[5]	
Clark's Creek T.S.	467	475	581	365	388	324	207	182	161
Latimer (City)	—	—	—	—	124	84	34	40	29
Council Grove T.S.	487	445	424	459	409	414	335	299	316
Council Grove (City)	2211	2265	2545	2857	2898	2875	2722	2664	2403
Elm Creek T.S.	1060	1049	1251	1086	1107	989	705	548	473
Wilsey (City)	—	—	—	337	330	348	251	224	169
Ohio Township	734	879	884	805	900	738	632	548	529
Dwight City	—	—	298	246	334	295	281	281	322
Parker Township	860	863	871	820	693	568	358	311	216
Parkerville (City)	202	146	157	144	127	105	78	59	25
Rolling Prairie T.S.	999	1152	1081	1129	1041	830	864	707	640
White City			506	652	619	516	540	459	458
Valley Township	519	519	413	700*	666	524	352	313	252
Dunlap (City)	408	400	333	300	273	219	134	134	102

[1]For 1890, 1900, 1910: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Abstract of the Census with Supplement for Kansas*, pp. 581-582.

[2]For 1920: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Population*, Vol. 1, p. 433.

[3]For 1930, 1940: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population*, Vol. 1, pp. 401-402.

[4]For 1950: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Population, 1950*, Vol. 1, sec. 16, p. 19.

[5]For 1960, 1970: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of the Population*, Vol. 1, pt. 18, p. 27.

*Census Report for 1920 and 1930 included Dunlap's population with that of Valley Township.

Table 2

Age Distribution of Population of Dunlap (1974)

Below 10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80 or older	Total
21	27	10	9	9	13	10	4	6	109

Source: Population schedule. State Agricultural Census. County Assessor's Office. Council Grove, Kansas.

[1]A typical action. Local units of government were generous in voting subsidies to attract railway construction through their territories. Data from the Kansas Historical Records Survey, 1941 (Division of Service Programs W.P.A., Topeka, Kansas), p. 74.

[2]For the short run, the railroad had great utility. The Dunlap *Chief* proudly reported that "the M.K.T. railroad has one of the best depot buildings at this place of anywhere on this line." (The Dunlap *Chief*. March 3, 1882. Kansas Historical Library Microfilm.)

[3]Dunlap *Chief*. March 3, 1882, p. 2. (Kansas State Historical Library Microfilm.)

[4]As one example, the following balance sheets of the Farmers State Bank of Dunlap, reflect this growth: Assets: 1892, $12,916.62; 1894, $27,316.48; 1914, $97,872.57; 1919, $184,132.87. *The Greeting* (Topeka, Ks.: Kansas State Historical Library, Microfilm, 1892); Dunlap *Weekly News* (Topeka, Ks.: Kansas State Historical Library, Microfilm, 1914), and Dunlap *Rustler* (Topeka, Ks.: Kansas State Historical Library, Microfilm, 1919).

[5]The following were the major sources of data for this section: Dunlap *Reporter*, July 20, 1883-May 10, 1888; Dunlap *Courier*, November 23, 1889-1891; Dunlap *Leader*, December 1903-1907 (Topeka, Ks.: Kansas State Historical Library, Newspaper files, Microfilm). For an excellent general history, see Wm. F. Zornow, *Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957)

[6]A resident of Dunlap and another living on a farm near Dunlap independently corroborated this. In the latter case, the respondent was reporting experiences of his parents and grandparents.

[7]The closing of the Freedman's Academy in the 1890's was symbolic of declining support of community projects in behalf of the black population. From that time on, the quality of life for the black people of the community declined steadily, as did the number of black residents.

[8]The exodus of the "hill-people" from Appalachia into the cities of Illinois, Ohio, and the other North Central states has been elsewhere observed. Apparently, in more fortunate cases, some of those families found their way sometimes into small towns in the north and west, where the physical, and probably the social, environments were more successfully confronted.

[9]Dates fam s arrived from various sources cannot be determined. The period of World War I, 1915-1920, seems to be a turning point in ethnic and cultural trends in Dunlap's population: (a) declining proportion of blacks, (b) start of immigration of families from Appalachia, (c) some in-movement from other places in Kansas and the midwest.

[10]Rental properties are not numerous in Dunlap. More commonly, houses that can be made habitable can be obtained very cheaply.

[11]Interview with a long time resident of Dunlap.

[12]As businesses and offices closed across the nation, the option to return to the farm where the basic necessities were more available was chosen (temporarily) by many.

[13]The following general literature is typical, by no means inclusive. No reference is made to the many excellent studies of individual states. H.S. Gilbertson, *The County: The "Dark Continent of American Politics"* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1917); Herman James, *Local Government in the United States* (N.Y.: D. Appleton & Co., 1921); Arthur Bromage, *American County Government* (New York: Sears Publishing Company, 1933); John A. Fairlie and Charles M. Kneier, *County Government and Administration* (N.Y.: Appleton-Century Publishing Co., 1933); Lane W. Lancaster, *Government in Rural America*, 2nd ed. (N.Y.: Van Nostrand Co., 1952); Clyde F. Snider, *American State and Local Government* (N.Y.: Meredith Publishing Co., 1965), Chaps. 13 and 14; and John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry, *The American System of Government* (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1971), Chap. 27.

[14]Milton Mayer, *op. cit.*

3. Dunlap—Place and People 1974-75

Before developing our analysis of the present community of Dunlap it is necessary to return to the subject with which the preceding section was closed. At that point the material was left with a general outline of institutional change in rural Midwestern and North Central United States. These general statements must now be fit to the Dunlap situation.

To most observers, the action taken by the Morris County Commissioners in January 1972 to abolish townships seemed to be either a long overdue reform or at worst a harmless bit of busywork. Practitioners of rural government and academic writers on the subject long ago agreed on the obsolescence of townships. In their view, such obsolescence has been a logical consequence of smallness of area and declining population. New and everchanging technologies of modernization required larger farms and roads to accommodate more weight and more speed—but at the same time serve ever fewer people.

By 1940, the conventional township as a unit of government had few defenders. By 1970 in Kansas it had been stripped of almost all functions except providing for elections and, in some instances, maintaining subsidiary roads.

Thus, to the Morris County commissioners, "dissolving" townships and replacing them with larger units in January, 1972 seemed to be reasonable and exemplary. However, the transition from township to county government was less than complete. Townships were not erased completely nor were they "rationalized" by consolidation into large and uniform districts provided, for example, by dividing the county into quadrants by straight lines bisecting each other at right angles in the center of the county. The action taken in this case was to reduce the original sixteen townships to nine areas, numbered "townships," one through nine, with two townships retaining their original identities with boundaries slightly changed.[1]

The new subdivisions, designated by number, left some uncertainty as to what they would be or should become. Irregularity of size and shape only added to the mystery of their creation.

Looking Outward

Valley township, in the southeast corner of Morris county, was, before 1972, a six mile square. Dunlap was near the eastern county line and slightly north of the middle of Valley township north and south. The

29

Neosho river flows southeasterly past the southwest corner of Dunlap and on across the Oklahoma border. Rock creek, whose significance will be expanded later, flows from the northeast to the Neosho river west of Dunlap. Dunlap is a convenient center for nearby residents of the valleys of the two streams.

Despite being a nation with pride in its government "by the people" and full of memories of Jeffersonian wisdom regarding values of agrarian life and rural governments organized by wards (townships), counties, and states, the United States has failed to fulfill its responsibilities to rural government in at least two respects. First, little provision was made for recognition of the importance of community life by drawing political boundaries to facilitate growth and development of natural community bonds. New England towns are something of an exception; the plains states, on the other extreme, frequently formed the political townships conterminous with six-mile square survey townships regardless of how that affected the communities involved. A second difficulty respecting rural local government has been power plays on the issue of consolidating small local units. Consolidating or integrating governments is, or could be, a natural process as technological developments reduce time and space. The process need not destroy small communities if they continue in their responsibilities for those things they do best. One argument for enlarging township areas in Morris county was reducing election costs, estimated at $1,500 county wide. But that would hardly pay for the added time and travel required of voters to get to the polls, not considering the cost to democracy through the reduced turnout resulting from the added difficulty to voters.

One would suppose that the political life of a rural county would be enhanced by conscious efforts on the part of the county seat, and particularly the county office holders, to give much time and consideration to the concerns of each local unit. If that was the case, the results were not successful, judged by expressions recorded in our interviews. Forty of the 59 adult residents of Dunlap were asked: "What level of concern do you personally feel that the county government shows for Dunlap as a community?" Of the forty adult respondents, 13 (33%) answered "completely unconcerned," another 19 (48%) "moderately unconcerned." None suggested a high concern, and only 3 (8%) believed that the county was moderately concerned about the community of Dunlap. One put it that

"our roads are only patched" when complaints are made in volume or after an accident has been caused by the disrepair.

At the same time that a substantial majority (81%) of Dunlap's adult citizens were describing the county government as unconcerned about the well-being of their community, 48% thought that the township government was either "not adequate" or "useless," but 55% thought that if its financial resources could be increased substantially, it would have the ability to increase the quality of its services to residents.

These data show that the governments closest to respondents tended to elicit the greatest confidence regardless of the merits of the case. In the case of Dunlap, 29 respondents gave affirmative or strongly affirmative answers and five gave negative or strongly negative answers to the question of the village itself being able to increase the quality of service to residents if greater financial services were available.

In addition to the usual government functions and services, Dunlap has a special public project in its environment. Under the Kansas Watershed Act, passed in 1953, steps were taken in 1966-67 to establish the Rock Creek Watershed District. The major purpose was to provide flood control; its minor purpose recreation. Irrigation was not included as a purpose. The citizens of Dunlap were apparently poorly informed of the dimensions and possibilities of the District.

In discussions with residents the most frequently mentioned unfavorable aspect of living in Dunlap was the frequency of flooding. Oddly, the Rock Creek Watershed project was rarely mentioned. The project apparently had difficulty getting under way and was badly behind schedule. However, the potential for Dunlap appeared to be sufficiently great that a fuller discussion and description of the Watershed project and its relation to Dunlap was reserved for the final section of this paper.

Observations testing adult residents' appraisal of the public boards and agencies of the larger society in whose policies they rightfully believed they had a stake—supported the conclusion of widely shared lack of confidence. For possibly different reasons in each case, each of the groups (First Families, Mountain families, and Others) manifested a negative attitude toward the larger society, a negative evaluation of wholesale market suppliers (they would not willingly deal with stores of the small sales potential of such small rural places as Dunlap), county government (road maintenance was unevenly distributed), unified school operation (the

board will close the school in Dunlap as soon as they can find a reason), state government, and national government.

Looking Inward

Exploring the views of Dunlap residents with regard to their own and their community's situation revealed that they reflected neither hopelessness nor the desire to emigrate that outsiders would expect—nor were they unaware of difficulties in their lives. The most pessimistic were the descendants of the early settlers, the First Family group. Having watched the business and commercial infrastructure of Dunlap slowly erode and their hopes of restoration disappear, they foresaw no way of making satisfactory recovery. Discussing the possibility (remote) that an influx of newcomers might take place, an elderly representative thought that even so they would be the "wrong kind of people." This attitude of despair, however, was not extreme, and could better be designated as conservativism, reluctance to approve changes or to risk change from an established, though declining, way of life. Only eight out of 21 respondents in the First Family group were willing to say that Dunlap's way of life in general was inadequate for most residents. They seemed to prefer to accept the present with its promise of a continuing gradual decline rather than attempt changes with uncertain outcomes.

On the other hand, the Mountain Families reflected a more aggressive attitude and willingness to change. They were more optimistic, less resigned. Their expectations for the future showed a clear difference between the First Families and the Mountain Families. Four questions were used to elicit responses reflecting degrees of optimism or pessimism of outlook for the future.[2] (See Tables 3-6) Questions 11 and 12 asked respondents to picture their own and Dunlap's future (5-15 years hence) by choosing one of five responses: A. Great Improvements B. Some Improvement C. No Change D. Gradual Decline E. Disaster. In projecting their own states of well being ahead 5-15 years, the modal response of the First Family respondents was "Some Improvement;" that of the Mountain Families, "Great Improvement." Likewise, the First Families were more conservative in estimating the future for the village of Dunlap, with "Gradual Decline" getting the most responses compared with "No Change" in the Mountain Family category. (Table 5) Four of 13 Mountain Family respondents anticipated great improvement or some improvement

while only five of 21 First Family responses indicated some improvement and none opted for great improvement.

The differences were narrow but in the same direction with regard to Question 14—"will it be easier or more difficult for people living in Dunlap to make a good living in Dunlap over the next 10-15 years?" The modal response for both groups was in the middle—it will be "the same," but 70% of the Mountain people gave that response compared to 51% of the First Family group.

Thus far our analysis has been directed only to the two distinctly outlined groups residing in Dunlap and the surrounding neighborhood. We next turned attention to the third group, the Other Families. As expected, fewer common bonds were found among members of the third group, less identity of background, and more varied outlooks and anticipations. Their responses showed a wider range and variety; however, they tended fairly consistently toward a kind of aggressive optimism, perhaps because they were living in Dunlap more from individual choice than were members of either of the other groups.[3]

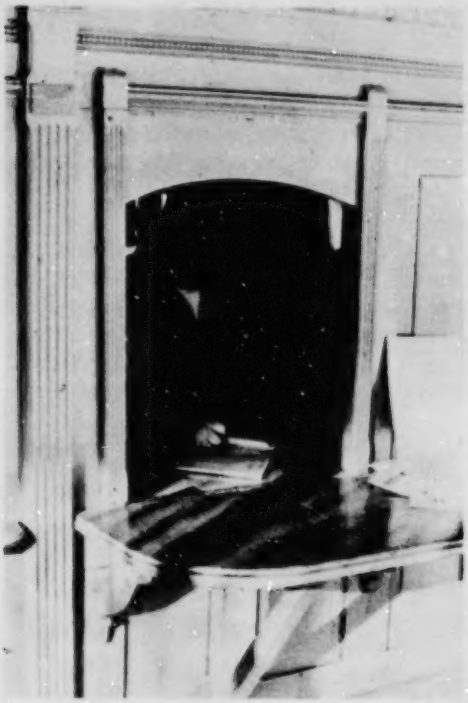
Tables 3 through 6 compare responses of the three groups. Extreme and moderate answers have been combined to focus on the central tendency.

"Community" and Quality of Living

By our test of *community* Dunlap was neither dying or dead. The characteristics of (1) community institutions, (2) power structure, and (3) social interaction were affirmative. The expansion of household economies and the decline of or even disappearance of business infrastructure was a significant change but not one justifying final rites. The process was a gradual decline with adjustment made as time passed.

A noteworthy characteristic of Dunlap's household economies was family gardens. They were almost universal and gave evidence of an ability that will obviously be in great demand with continuing inflation. One householder reported that the only foods for which his family relied entirely on a retail food store were milk and beef. Available lots in Dunlap offered a potential that could be developed. Adding flood control, and possibly irrigation by means of the Rock Creek Watershed District development, would add to that potential for a purely rural development.

The institutional life of Dunlap was simple, plainly visible, and cen-



Postmaster, Dunlap, KS

tered around the church, the school and, in a secondary way, the post office. The United Methodist Church was a strong support for community maintenance, particularly true for the First Family group and those who found a mutuality of interests with them. Well established, on a stable financial footing, and drawing support from the rural area around Dunlap, this church was a force for community maintenance.

The elementary school, an attendance center for a unified school district, related less to the First Families group than to the other two groups who tended to have more families with children of elementary school age. The elementary school replaced the grade and high school that held the loyalties of the community before school unification, so it was still looked upon by all with proprietary pride. Achievements of the Dunlap children going on to high school were related with enthusiasm in conversations with the investigators and credit given to the "fine school" and bright children.

In quite a different way, the post office was a meeting place for townsmen to pass the time of day together as they waited for the mail to arrive. Perhaps more important than the mail ordinarily arriving was the chance for mutual exchange of community news, constituting a daily assembly of households. Numerous families, not having a rented mailbox, received their mail over an indefinite time by "general delivery."

A power structure was discernible in Dunlap. The governmental affairs were cared for by the town council, all of whom were members of the First Families group. Although a minority, those few families held all positions on the council, made all necessary decisions, a large number of which involved difficulties in coordinating with higher governments.[4] Since there was no local paper, the meetings, agenda, and proceedings, faithfully recorded in the minutes book, were not regularly disseminated for public knowledge. Even elections could come and go almost unnoticed. It was obviously a concern of the First Families group that they not lose this power.[5] This group held no illusions about the insecurity of their grip on these controls. As a result, some activity was noted in recruitment of new families when they arrived in town. If the newcomers seemed to share the way of life of the First Families, a place on the town council could easily be found. The rewards for holding power in Dunlap were few enough to warrant the conclusion that such service was a good example of unselfish dedication to public service. The result, however, was to place power, not

only in a minority, but also in the possession of persons with a conservative outlook toward the village and not easily persuaded to change with changing conditions.

A web of social relations functioned in Dunlap and the immediate surrounding community. In addition to social activities of church and school, respondents indicated that much visiting took place in homes and on the streets. All but two rated these contacts as "pleasing" or "very pleasing." Twenty-three of 41 respondents believed they were well enough acquainted with half or more of the people in Dunlap to write a character reference for them.

Membership in named clubs was the province almost exclusively of the First Families. The women, in particular, were at least moderate "joiners" with a majority of the women of the First Families group belonging to one or more church-related groups, such as the United Methodist Women or the Women's Society for Christian Service. Card clubs and book clubs were a close second, the First Families women again by far the most numerous in memberhsip. Males interviewed held memberships in fraternal and semi-professional organizations in those stemming from or related to military service: American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Association of the Army of the U.S.A. In all, interviews of 42 Dunlap residents turned up 41 memberships in social and semi-professional organizations.

In considering the well-being of households in Dunlap let us deal first with economic aspects and then with broader cultural characteristics. The investigators ruled out direct questions on income as unacceptable in this study because we deemed it more valuable to gain trust, to be considered courteous visitors and to be able to return to the same respondents. Perhaps the information we received was less exact, though, at the same time, more meaningful. A specific figure, no matter how accurate, is less meaningful than a free conversation about how one gets along on a very small railway employee pension check, plus a little gardening and occasional odd jobs. It is hard to consider accepting welfare, even when no alternative exists if illness comes. Situations like this described the status of several families in Dunlap. But the percentage receiving public assistance was approximately that found in cities.

Incomes, apart from the previously mentioned household economizing, largely followed general economic trends. Most incomes

derived from pensions, social security, and wages and salaries that in most cases required commuting. The effects of inflation were mixed. The household economies countered to some extent the difficulties of making fixed income adjustments, providing some protection for the family budget. Most households seemed to be secure in their income sources. Benefits would be derived from growth of job opportunities in the immediate environment of Dunlap.

Judging by our study, small rural places are marked by a tendency toward equality of income. Although our study purposely avoided specific measurement, the spread between lowest and highest incomes was in the range of 1:8, that is, the largest no more than 8 times the lowest, as perhaps of $1,500 for the lowest and $12,000 for the highest. Such a situation is an interesting contrast with differences of as much as 1:50 found in cities where salary, wealth, and status accumulate in certain areas. On the evidence gained from analysis of Dunlap, the rural village offers a community of relative equality.

A House Out in the Country

In *Hard Living on Clay Street*, a study of life among the urban poor in Washington, D.C., one member of the hardliving group says, "What I want to do, if I ever get my way, is to buy some land somewhere. If we start putting the money away now, we can get us a little land somewhere and then I'm going to build my own house . . . all I have to do is save that money and build us our own house out in the country."[6] Undoubtedly, daily confrontation with the problems of living hard on Clay Street made Barry's mind stretch out to construct an imaginary escape from a nerve straining and culturally barren existence. Whether Barry was expressing an attainable and rational objective can be doubted but that this rural myth-value is widely shared cannot.[7] There is some evidence that the 1970s and 80s may record a discernible effort to give some statistical reality to the expressed myth.[8]

What happens to small rural places of Kansas and the plains is a matter that will be determined by public policy. Despite arguments for resettlement or new "homestead" acts, these do not appear likely to prevail. To make no public policy in this area is in itself a policy. Because both the nation and the states now engage in social and economic policy matters, a neglect of the small village population will be a policy of

37

vacuum. This sector has unique problems. If they are not recognized and dealt with the damage done could be very great.

Within this framework we consider the prospects for Dunlap, its people, and the terms for their survival.

Table 3

Distribution by groups of responses to Question 10, part IV—Is the way of life of most people in Dunlap adequate or not adequate for modern times?

	N	Adequate	All Right	Not really Adequate	NA
First Families	21	2	11	8	0
Mountain Families	13	3	3	7	0
Other Families	8	4	1	2	1

Table 4

The distribution by groups of responses to question 11, part IV—As you think of the future, which of the following best fits *Your own* future?

	N	Improvement	No Change	Decline	NA
First Families	21	13	4	2	2
Mountain Families	13	9	3	1	0
Other Families	8	7	0	1	0

Table 5

The distribution by groups of responses to question 12, part IV—As you think of the future, that is, the next 5-15 years, which of the following best fits the future of Dunlap?

	N	Improvement	No Change	Decline	NA
First Families	21	2	10	9	0
Mountain Families	13	4	5	4	0
Other Families	8	4	3	1	0

Table 6

The distribution by groups of responses to question 14, part IV—Do you expect it to become easier or more difficult for most people in Dunlap to make a good living during the next five to 15 years?

	N	Easier	About the Same	More Difficult	NA
First Families	21	2	10	9	0
Mountain Families	13	1	8	4	0
Other Families	8	4	5	0	0

39

[1]White City, Kansas, *Register*, January 6, 1972, p. 1.

[2]See Appendix I, questions 10, 11, 12, 14. Question 13 was included as a way of correlating lot ownership with stability and optimistic outlook. Later examination revealed that most residents lived on their own property or that of a relative. Lots are free of mortgage and seldom bought or sold. Tax delinquencies are apparently a problem, how serious we did not determine.

[3]One young housekeeper wrote on her questionnaire: "Our small population keeps our town friendly—we really see 'love your neighbor' in action here . . ." This respondent was "moderately opposed" to a program designed to increase the town's population by 100 to 200 people.

[4]As an example, the Federal Solid Waste Disposal Act mandated a service for incorporated places that would cost Dunlap more than their entire locally funded budget at the time. The councilmen voted to take no action but to attempt to negotiate for a more practical method of disposal.

[5]Elections were matters of great concern for this reason, plus the fact that the law, here again, required procedures that were extravagantly expensive for a small place. The council found it justifiable to look for economies and short cuts in the procedure.

[6]Joseph T. Howell, *Hard Living on Clay Street* (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973), pp. 35-36.

[7]Recent surveys find a strong (expressed) preference for a rural or village over a city or suburban place of residence. The following findings of Watts and Free are typical. Of city dwellers, 41% prefer living in the city while 14% prefer village and 27% prefer rural. Of village and rural dwellers 60 and 90% respectively prefer their present place of dwelling—only 5% and 2% respectively express a preference for the city. One of every four suburbanites would like to live in the country and one of twenty would move into the city. William Watts and Lloyd A. Free, *State of the Nation* (New York: Universe Books, 1973), pp. 79-83.

[8]Evidence now indicates that the rural-urban flow of population has been reversed in the U.S. Calvin L. Beale, U.S.D.A. authority on population has written and spoken on this phenomenon. See James Sundquist, *Dispersing Population: What America Can Learn from Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1975), pp. 249-51.

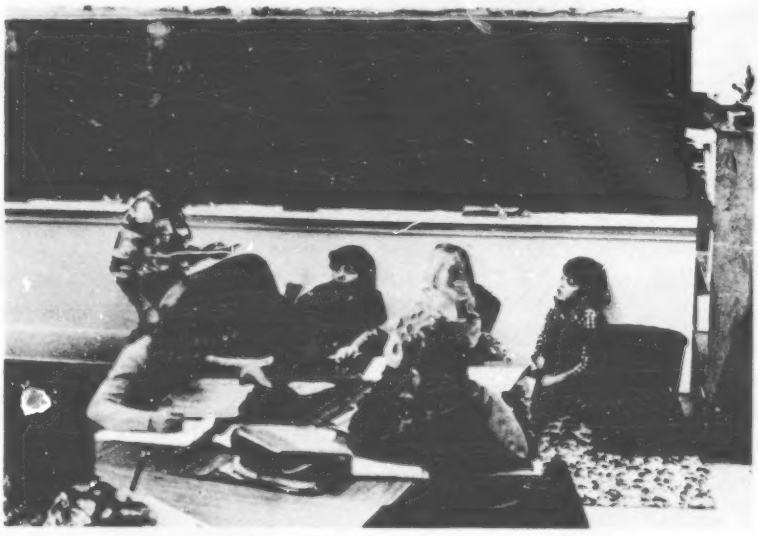
4. Options and a Look Forward

Observations of Dunlap and more limited impressions of other small rural places in Kansas provided evidence of the folly of simple generalizations and the misleading nature of the generally accepted stereotype of the small rural place. The outward appearance of these places, especially their abandoned and tumble-down business areas, presented an unpleasant reminder of the ravages of time. But that was found misleading. The market place had shifted, part going to larger trade centers and the remainder changed to an expanded household economy. Rather complex community activities have continued and they have strengthened the community through local interactions. A close study of Dunlap revealed institutional loyalties, cohesive subgroupings, organized club and social activities, and expectations about the future that assumed a degree of stability and permanence.

That did not, as it may have seemed, lead us to conclude that all was well with small rural places. They are frail communities, with their survival held by most observers to be in doubt. The loss of function as a market place was a serious handicap; and quite impossible of recovery under present trends and conditions. But the loss of this function, judging from the statistics, seldom resulted in death except in a most uncertain and long-drawn-out manner.

To find that the process of human adaptation to life in a small rural village possessed any quality not deteriorating in nature would be counter to the generally accepted stereotype that the "best", i.e., the brightest, most ambitious, and ablest are drawn away to seek, in Horatio Alger style, their fortunes in the city. Our observations and data did not confirm the stereotype. We found that the environment of the small rural place encouraged, and sometimes required, knowledge and skills of a high order in mechanics, construction, soils and drainage, horticulture, and others. More reliance being placed on versatility rather than specialization was noticeable. Both labor-intensive and capital-intensive types of production were observed, the latter as a source of employment outside the limits of Dunlap but in the vicinity.

The proposition that there is in the rural hinterlands of the United States our own "Third World" might well be pondered. Considering the kinds of skills achieved and the community values developed, the populations of rural villages would seem to be a valuable source for Peace Corps recruiting. This is a subject for consideration elsewhere in some



Classroom, Dunlap Elementary School

42

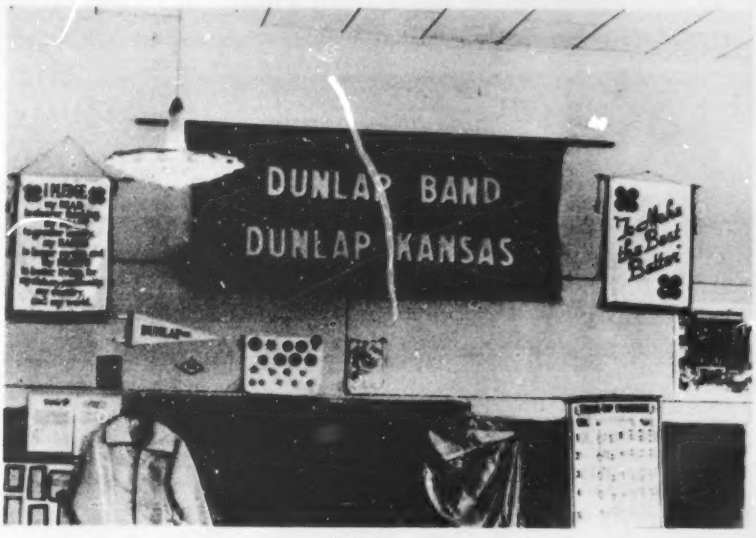
detail. As we consider options and prospects it will be preferred to consider the rural village as a part of the current social order, not as a quaint museum piece from the 19th century. Such rural places may have an important role in the total structure of society as we move into the post-industrial period.

The fate of rural villages is, in a very real sense, in the hands of public policy-making bodies of state and nation. It has become increasingly difficult since World War II, due to the rapid growth of industrial technology, to make policies that protect or support small villages. Written off as hopeless cases, the most that could be expected was an attitude of "benign neglect." Under these conditions, as our observations of Dunlap show, the villages have slowly deteriorated. It is not just that they are losing population (that has been going on for 60 years or more in rural villages), but that their functions are lost. Populations and functions are somewhat, but not totally mutually dependent. Economic growth can partially replace population loss, if social and economic values, activities, and needs increase. That was obviously the case with Dunlap between 1900 and 1925 as it increased in capital investments while population steadily declined.

A scenario presenting the results of negative policies that might be pursued will show how much small places depend upon external policy decisions.

One example is the Postal Service plan to close fourth class post offices on the grounds that alternate service would save an estimated $100 million annually. Since the benefits of a social and community nature cannot be weighed monetarily, they are not included as offsetting losses. The alternate service proposed would destroy all, or nearly all, of the social accommodations of country post offices.[1] The difficulty of computing social costs and benefits suggests that they will be ignored.

Another policy decision that would inflict damage on small rural places would be the closing of the present elementary school attendance centers. In the case of Dunlap, this would be very damaging since the school is an attraction for families with children of school age. In addition, the school is the most important social center in the community and provides a sense of purpose and achievement. Undoubtedly, centripetal forces are pressing on unified school district 417 to transfer the Dunlap students to the central part of the system, the county seat. Ad-



Classroom, Dunlap Elementary School, Dunlap, Ks.

vantages and disadvantages of a pedagogical nature related to greater centralization and larger attendance units are matters of controversy among teachers. Here we can do no more than point out the damage to Dunlap that closing the attendance center would cause.

Finally, in the case of Dunlap specifically (the two negative policy judgments described above fit many small places), failure to complete the Rock Creek watershed projects that bear on flood control would make it difficult for any substantial development to take place.[2] Conversely, with full completion and development, particularly flood control and irrigation, undoubtedly would noticeably strengthen Dunlap. Therefore, we will turn to consideration of the ray of hope that is found in the alternative of a completed Rock Creek Watershed project.

The Politics of Hope

Articles of Incorporation for the Rock Creek Watershed District were filed as a nonprofit corporation October 16, 1969, and the general plan was approved February 27, 1975, by the Chief Engineer, Division of Water Resources, State Board of Agriculture. The District plan proposed construction of nine flood-retarding structures and 25 other small detention dams. Watershed district financing was provided by a property tax levied by the district under authority of a state law that limits the tax to two mills.

Between 1953, when the Kansas Watershed District Act was passed, and 1974, 15 districts in the state had completed all the principal structures included in their plans. An additional 33 had completed a part of their planned structural system of works. The record of this program is generally good, although some districts, as is true with Rock Creek, have been slow in getting started.

The Rock Creek Watershed District encompasses approximately 93,000 acres and extends 1½ miles south and twenty miles north of Dunlap.[3] Drainage to the south, from twenty miles north, places Dunlap, the only incorporated city in the District, at "the end of the funnel." Since this location has rendered Dunlap perennially flood prone, the town would benefit greatly by the completion of the planned and feasible projects of the district.

A four-county regional planning unit, Resource, Conservation, and Development (R,C,&D), has planned a dual purpose dam to be built on a

farmer's land northeast of Dunlap. This project was taken under the sponsorship of the Rock Creek Watershed District. Now nearing completion at the time of this writing, this subproject offers possibility for providing a source of water for development of a multipurpose community project. Another smaller detention dam is planned closer to Dunlap with equally good possibilities for community development. Water uses suggested by supporters of the project include (1) irrigating commercial gardens and orchards, (2) supplying a controlled flow of water for fish farming and fish hatchery ponds, and (3) a swimming pool. Also suggested was a plan for a community garden for up to thirty families with about two acres of land subdivided into 30 by 100-foot plots.

Having recorded the strengths and weaknesses of Dunlap's position with respect to resources and manpower, the writers were impelled to go on with the development of logical steps in a feasible program of community development. This was especially true in view of the encouraging nature of the findings. These findings were drawn upon as a community development sequence was put together.[4]

The primary physical resource available in Dunlap is land, a resource which, since limited in area, must be planned for intensive uses, which is feasible when accompanied by the assumption that an available and controlled water supply will result from the Rock Creek Watershed subprojects described above. The human resource is, of course, the indispensable requirement, and our research provides some understanding and confidence in that resource. Our questionnaire contained questions that sought to determine the degree of interest in supporting and developing a community Plan.[5] Respondents were asked if their feelings toward a program designed to revitalize Dunlap as a community were positive or negative. Responses were: very positive 40%; moderately positive 37%; neutral 19%; somewhat negative 2%; very negative 2%.

Respondents were then asked: "Would you be interested in attending an open meeting to discuss the possibility of setting up a program for the purpose of revitalizing Dunlap as a community?" This question was answered: very positive 46%; moderately positive 37%; neutral 12%; somewhat negative [illegible]%; very negative 4%. The survey findings thus indicated a high degree of interest in community improvement. Informal contacts with residents in the community fortified confidence in the human resources of the community.

As a first step in organizing for development, a steering committee would be convened to plan for a community-wide organizational meeting. The steering committee could be made up of individuals who had expressed the most positive interest in moving the community in some new directions. Four representatives of each of three groups defined in part III of this paper would be a satisfactory committee, although the First Family group would be over-represented. However, the present position of this group, the background of its members and their access to power among outside policy makers makes their over-representation defensible. Additionally, Mountain Family group and the other families tended toward the same policy orientation, so they would, in general, tend to combine to hold superiority on some issues.

Preparing for a series of community meetings, the steering committee would organize into working groups as need indicated. The following groups likely would emerge as essential:

1. Publicity. This group would meet the need for developing communications with the citizens of Dunlap and the surrounding area.
2. Water Use. This working group would look into alternative plans for using water made available by the local sub-project of the Rock Creek Watershed District.
3. Land Use. This sub-committee would inventory the present status of land-use and explore possibilities for alternatives.
4. Programs Available. This sub-committee would explore the availability of project assistance through contacts with Congressmen, state legislators, the Kansas Social and Rehabilitation Service, and other public sources.

The above working groups would report briefly at the first general meeting, answer questions, and receive inputs and suggestions for projects.

At the outset of the community development effort, meetings would be necessary on a monthly or more frequent basis. As the programs were initiated and settled into patterns, most of the families would be involved in one or more of them and formal mass meetings would normally be less frequent and would tend, like the New England town meeting, to be called for general policy approval and guidance.

A suggestion of the projects likely to be approved by the people of

47

Dunlap is highly hypothetical and almost presumptuous; however, it should be possible to use our observations of obvious needs and the interests persons expressed in conversations and formal interviews as a base for suggesting potential projects likely to have a payoff. We believe the tentative list below would be discussed and that some, if not all, would be chosen.

1. Cooperative gardening and organic farming program. The need for this type of program is fairly obvious. Such a program would reduce still further dependency upon outside food sources and likely provide a better quality and quantity of food. It would encourage related activities, such as a Farmers Market, cooperative canning and preserving, repair and services, and other local activities now placed in Emporia and Council Grove.

   There is now a large reservoir of talent, skill, interest, and experience in gardening and small farming which could be organized and further developed.

   Some economically rewarding and socially acceptable employment opportunities would be provided.

   The substantial acreage of fertile soil within Dunlap would be put to productive use.

The duty of determining the form this community program would take would fall to the Working Group on Land Use or its successor. One option to be considered would be formation of a cooperative nonprofit organization responsible for arranging purchase of lots and tracts and leasing appropriate units on a long-time basis to individual families.

2. A cooperative community general store. For this undertaking the need is apparent. Such a project could be organized and operated along the lines of farmers cooperatives of the early decades of the century, but adding the advantages of modern marketing services on an appropriate scale on the style of the "mini-mart" or convenience center. Cooperative organization and philosophy would, of course, be the central element.
3. Child Foster Care Program. There is a need for Dunlap residents to provide this service for the area around Dunlap and for the neighboring communities as well as for Dunlap itself. A foster care program approved by the Social and Rehabilitation

Service would fill a need, bring activity and program funds to Dunlap, and strengthen the infrastructure of the village. The stable rural environment, where children could grow up close to nature and learn many useful vocational skills while taking advantage of healthy, nature-related recreational opportunities, would be a meaningful alternative to the typical urban foster care placement situation.

4. Home Care Program for the Aged. Home care services could meet the needs of older men and women as an alternative to care in nursing homes. In addition, the need of many healthy retired people to work at something they feel to be of value, and the need of many people in Dunlap to play a helping role, could be provided by the Home Care Program. Home care services would include visits from homemakers and aides of all ages, delivery of hot meals, home maintenance, friendly visiting, and telephone assurance.
5. Foster Grandparents Program. The needs of older men and women to be employed, to feel wanted, needed, and of value could be met by the Foster Grandparent Program. Further, the needs of many children to be placed in a foster home where they will feel wanted, needed, and important could be met by this program.

   Children could be placed in the homes of older people where they will feel welcome and comfortable. The foster grandparents would receive a money payment in exchange for the care of the children and therefore would be paid employees.
6. Multi-purpose Community Center Program. The youth of Dunlap expressed the need for a recreation center more than for any other life deficiency in Dunlap. Both young and old agreed that social, educational, and recreational activities for teenagers are needed in Dunlap.
7. Mobile Health Care Program. A discouraging aspect of rural and village life is the inadequate health care.[6] Dunlap needs an emergency mobile unit that could be called upon to transport sick or injured to Council Grove safely and quickly. Such a program would require outside funding. A converse

arrangement would be to schedule weekly visits by a doctor and/or nurse to examine and treat the ill.

Some elderly residents have no car and do not drive. Thus improvements in the medical aid system are the highest priority for them.

8. Low-cost Housing. The need both to improve present residences and provide more housing seems apparent. There are at present no vacant livable houses and many that are occupied need repair. The abatement of seasonal flooding should reduce depreciation of homes in low-lying areas and stimulate interest in improvements. Positive steps in this area would require advice of expert housing authority people. Investigating low-cost housing programs would be a first step.
9. Community Beautification. Many long-vacated buildings are both eyesores and safety hazards. Some of the old buildings could be rehabilitated to provide housing for the Co-op store and possibly the Community Center. Others should be removed and the ground made available for intensive cultivation. The Beautification Program could rehabilitate buildings and walks, plantings, and surfacings.
10. Adult and Continuing Education. The Adult and Continuing Education Programs of Emporia State College and Kansas State University should be approached to bring programs to Dunlap. While the general educational level is not low, there are many individuals who would benefit by qualifying for the high school certificates or from refresher courses in their fields of special interest.
11. Vocational Rehabilitation Program. Dunlap has some unemployment as well as underemployment. Productivity on jobs available around Dunlap could be increased by upgrading skills. The basic structure for upgrading exists under the direction of the Kansas Social Rehabilitation Service.
12. Community Flood Control Action Committee. Although our section "Politics of Hope" is put together on the assumption that the Rock Creek Watershed District will have completed the necessary sub-projects to control the flow of water that has

resulted in overflows in Dunlap, continuing surveillance of this water-use program is essential. Involvement in decisions regarding maintenance, operation, and other ongoing aspects of the project and sub-projects bearing on Dunlap and its environs will be essential.

The Flood Control Action Committee would, as one of its major functions, represent the welfare of Dunlap and its surrounding area, acting diplomatically but firmly as an interest group to maximize positive benefits of a controlled supply of water.

It would be presumptuous to assume that each and all of these programs would be accepted or that, if they were, that all would be fully successful, or that there are no other programs or formats that would not be more successful. We do not make that assumption. However, we listed possible development projects that relate to the welfare and improvement of life of people living in the rural village of Dunlap. All our suggested programs are faithful to a concept of rural development. None envisions industry or urbanity as goals for rural development. Also none hints of returning to the "good old days," of isolating a community and pursuing a false goal of self-sufficiency. As Appendix II below indicates, full use is to be made of county, state, and national programs that offer to enhance the quality of life in small communities, with the accompanying assumption that the village will remain small in population and rural in life style.

A Concluding Note

This report on an investigation of the "life" of a small rural village can be concluded by reviewing its principal findings and probing for theories that may explain them. As for the latter, this study can only serve in a preliminary way. While much was learned about Dunlap, much more remains unknown. Furthermore, the limits of this study are very narrow. Dunlap is but one of the 148 incorporated places in Kansas with 1970 populations of fewer than 200, not to mention many more unincorporated places. Many more small rural places were surveyed "at a distance," some briefly visited. All tended to support the Dunlap observations.

The "dying small town" stereotype is misleading. A better concept,

with some theoretical content, is that the transition mandated by economic conditions after 1900 was never clearly understood, that mandate being to develop in and around the small towns the internal resources that were rural and agricultural in nature and to develop functional cooperation rather than to place all reliance in a competitive market enterprise system. Given the existing situation, the centripetal pull of larger places, even no larger than Emporia or Council Grove, could, and in fact did, make it impossible to maintain a commercial and professional infrastructure so that such institutions in Dunlap were subjected to steady attrition.

The people left behind indicated in their behavior pattern the strength of the American political culture. They clung to the image of their town as it had been two generations in the past—a place of extreme individualism, with true equality of opportunity, rewarding hard work and thrift, and protecting the right to acquire and possess. Inevitably, the fading of that image instilled a mood of resignation in the outlook of the First Families. No doubt the church was the one place where for a short time at least the realities of the situation could be put aside and the past relived.

The dynamics of economic development have seemed to indicate that small rural villages like Dunlap should be wiped out. In a centralizing and consolidating society they appear to have become functionless. In an economic sense, that has indeed happened.

The literature of rural development reflects that belief. But if one looks at the proposals and goals of rural development proponents, it is obvious that the processes they recommend will not nurture and develop the "rural" but rather will either (1) plan for economic growth by larger farm units and further population decline or (2) plan for growth of local industry. Neither plan grasps the concept of ruralization.

Ruralization would involve public policy makers in acting upon perceptions of the importance of conserving for a segment of American society an alternative form of social life. This segment could be described as labor-intensive, resource-conserving, diverse, somewhat self-sufficient, cooperative, and *gemeinschaft*. Each of these terms tends to depict a counter-culture, but not as a conflict situation. It might be the vanguard of a growing social order or the rearguard of a declining way of life.

The growing awareness in recent years of the need for population

52

decentralization supports a program that would extend the outward limits of a decentralization effort to small rural villages maintaining a level of public services comparable to the centralized areas. The desired facilitation of population dispersal provides one of the major arguments for the kind of programs we suggested.

Again it appears that the strength of the values of American political culture have barred the policy door against what we have here termed ruralization. While this is strange in view of the persistence and accommodation of rural values in American life, it can be explained in terms of sheer power which now, in defiance of the Lockean individualist creed, resides in corporate interest groups.[7] Policies tend to conform to the short run interests of the powerful, which explains well how the Dunlaps are left out.

A recent analysis by the Government Accounting Office on "problems impeding improvement of small-farm operations" is revealing in this connection. This study showed that by channeling research and extension resources into small farming operations, these could be made as productive as large.[8] The Department of Agriculture was adamantly opposed to any such efforts, and in its reply argued that such efforts, even granting their possibility of success, would be too costly to be justifiable. Any proposal that veers away from existing policies is viewed as a threat.

The implications of such philosophy seem to be understood by the Board of Agriculture and Natural Resources of the National Academy of Science as its report contains the following language: "non-agricultural interests (such as environment and rural development) as well as agricultural interests should be included in the annual assessment."[9] Apparently rural development and the agricultural are separate interests. This is a true perspective if "agricultural interests" is taken to mean large scale, capital-intensive agriculture only. Rural development —ruralization, which includes the small villages, requires a different approach. The one outlined in Section III above, we think, takes into account the needs and capabilities of the small village.

Any departure from the established pattern of agricultural program supports gets little support from the Department of Agriculture.[10] The situation is comparable to the Russian government's socializing as much farmland as possible, but permitting some small acreages, individually held by farmers, to be farmed privately by owners. In the Soviet Union

that is about 3 percent of tilled land, in plots often less than an acre; the small plots provide not only family gardens but a substantial amount to sell in the free markets that are permitted.[11]

Programs for strengthening small rural communities would not entail, comparatively speaking, large budgetary outlays. A range of activities drawing upon existing agencies was proposed in the preceding section. A more equitable formula for federal revenue-sharing would give places like Dunlap more ability to find and participate in such projects. Under the formula now used small places are discriminated against and their tax bases have eroded to the point where they can no longer raise substantial funds via the general property taxes, the only tax available to them.[12]

The power of hindsight informs us that positive concern for the welfare of small towns in the Midwest would have been well-placed a half-century ago. But of course at that time, there was no public mechanism for programs of that kind. Ironically, these public services now seem to be relatively unavailable in the very places—very small towns—where they would be most relevant.

54

[1]That more objective needs exist for rural post offices was offered by a farm implement dealer located in a small farming community. Parcel post service can deliver machine parts (often a very critical need, especially at harvest time) to the 4th class post office where they can be picked up immediately. The reform plan would require the farmer to drive up to 100 miles for the repair part, a costly delay.

[2]Most of the small places in Kansas probably have undeveloped resource potential comparable to this one; but few so obvious and so close to a constructive reality.

[3]The material on the Rock Creek Watershed and its potential for Dunlap was taken from a document "Rock Creek Watershed Joint District No. 84—General Plan with Estimate of Cost and Areas Benefited," Division of Water Resources, State Board of Agriculture, Topeka, Kansas, 1974. Also interviews with members of the Board of Directors, Rock Creek Joint Watershed District No. 84 and engineers with the Division of Water Resources.

[4]The material in this part is drawn directly from a paper done by Scott Shelley and Jackson Winters entitled "A proposal done for Community Organization and Development for Dunlap, Kansas: A Small Rural Village."

[5]See questions 16, 17, and 18, Section V, Appendix.

[6]See *Rurality, Poverty, and Health*, Agricultural Economic Report No. 172, Economic Research Service, U.S.D.A., 1970, for a description of the comparative inadequacy of rural health facilities and corresponding poorer quality of health of people living in rural areas.

[7]See Theodore Lowi, "The Public Philosophy: Interest Group Liberalism," *American Political Science Review*, 5:61 (1967).

[8]Report to Congress by the Comptroller-General of the United States: *Some Problems Impeding Economic Improvement of Small Farm Operations: What the Department of Agriculture Could Do*, August 15, 1975.

[9]Report of the National Academy of Science. Conclusions and recommendations. Chapter 2, page 9. Xerox copy by KSU Agricultural Experiment Station.

[10]By support, we do not necessarily mean direct subsidization. This statement is addressed rather to the Research, Development, and Extension activities of the Department

[11]Assuming that some aspects of a cooperative system may be found congenial to the ruralization process here suggested, then one can find a strong analogy between the proposal of this report and the minifarm private sector in Soviet agriculture. Their miniscule private sector is matched by the herein proposed cooperative small town land and resource development sector. The mutual support of minifarming and monoculture is brought out by an expert on Soviet agriculture: "Because of their diminutive size, the private farms cannot indeed exist on their own . . . conversely, the kolkhoz is dependent upon the labor of the kolkhoz families . . . A kolkhoz cannot exist without an independent labor force . . . ," Karl Eugen Wadekin, *The Private Sector in Soviet Agriculture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), p. 17. A popular description of Russian free enterprise in agriculture and food marts by Jay Richter is in *Farmland News*, published by Farmland Industries, Inc., June 28, 1974, p. 1.

[12]In 1974, Dunlap's income from federal revenue-sharing amounted to $3 per capita while prosperous Manhattan, Kansas, received $13.65 per capita. Dunlap City Council minutes, 1974, and Rosalys Rieger, *Revenue-Sharing in Riley County, City of Manhattan, and Manhattan Township, 7-1-71 to 6-30-75*. Unpublished research paper, Department of Political Science, Manhattan, Kansas, 1976.

Appendix 1

Survey Questionnaire for Administration to
Town and Township Officials and Selected
Adult Residents of Dunlap and Valley Township

Section One: Preliminary Questions
Characteristics of respondent and of interview.

Name: _____ Age: _____ Sex: _____

Name of Spouse: _____ Age: _____

Address: _____

Occupation: _____ Location of Place of Work _____

No. of Persons Now in Household: _____

No. of Children Living: _____

Education: (Circle Level and Grade of Last Attendance)

Level	Grade
a) Elementary	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
b) High School	1 2 3 4
c) College/University	1 2 3 4 4+

Degree, if any: _____

Membership in organizations:

Organizations of which you have been a member during last five years	Your attendance at meetings	Offices held during last five years (specify)
_____	Never	_____
_____	Occasionally	_____
_____	Frequently	_____

Residency information:

1. Do you reside in Dunlap? ____. If no, where do you reside _____.

2. Number of years you have resided in Dunlap. _____.

3. Has this period of residency been continuous? _____.

4. Number of years you have resided in Valley Township. _____.

5. Has this period of residency been continuous? _____.

Name of Interviewer _____

Date of Interview _____

Section Two: Examination fo social interrelationships.

1. How many Dunlap residents do you speak or otherwise communicate with during your typical seven-day week?
   (a) 1-10 (b) 11-20 (c) 21-40 (d) 41-70 (e) more than 70

2. At what place in Dunlap do you speak with the largest number of Dunlap residents during your typical seven-day week?

   _____

3. How would you rate the personal contacts you have with Dunlap residents at the place you mentioned in answer to the previous question?
   (a) very pleasing (b) pleasing (c) neutral
   (d) displeasing (e) very displeasing

4. What type of activity do you most often engage in at the location you mentioned in answer to Question Two?

   _____

5. For how many Dunlap residents would you feel qualified to furnish a character reference if you were requested to do so?
   (a) all (b) more than half (c) about half
   (d) less than half (e) very few

Section Three: Examination of larger community linkages.

6. What is the location of the place that you consider to be the center of your commercial activity?

   _____

7. What is the location of the place(s) to which you presently send your children to school? (If applicable)

_____

8. In regard to your answers to questions 6 and 7, which were something other than Dunlap,—if facilities of similar quality were available in Dunlap, would you still prefer to go to the places you mentioned?

No _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ Yes

9. In regard to your answers to question 6 and 7 which were something other than Dunlap,—do you go to these places because the services they offer are unavailable in Dunlap?

	Yes	No
6.	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____

Section Four: Examination of views about present and future.

10. Is the way of life of most people in Dunlap adequate or not adequate for modern times?

(a) very adequate (b) adequate (c) all right
(d) not really adequate (e) useless

11. As you think of the future, that is, the next five to fifteen years, which of the following best fits *your own* future? Will it be . . .

(a) great improvement (b) some improvement (c) no change
(d) gradual decline (e) disaster

12. As you think of the future, that is, the next five to fifteen years, which of the following best fits the future of Dunlap as a community? Will it be . . .

(a) great improvement (b) some improvement (c) no change
(d) gradual decline (e) disaster

13. In the next five to fifteen years, what do you think the opportunities for people in Dunlap will be, regarding ownership of real estate within the borders of Dunlap?

(a) Most people will own real estate (b) more people will own real estate (c) it will be the same as now (d) some people will lose the real estate they now own (e) most poeple will lose the real estate they now own

14. Do you expect it to become easier or more difficult for most people in Dunlap to make a good living during the next five to fifteen years?

(a) much easier (b) somewhat easier (c) about the same
(d) somewhat more difficult (e) much more difficult

Section Five: Examination of support for community development

15. Do you personally consider Dunlap to be a "dying" community?

No _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ Yes

16. Would you have positive or negative feelings toward the idea of a program designed for the purpose of revitalizing Dunlap as a community?

(a) very positive (b) moderately positive (c) neutral
(d) somewhat negative (e) very negative

17. Would you have positive or negative feelings toward a program designed to revitalize Dunlap as a community, if it meant that the town's population would increase slightly and gradually . . . say about 100 to 200?

(a) very positive (b) moderately positive (c) neutral
(d) somewhat negative (e) very negative

18. Would you be interested in attending an open meeting in Dunlap to discuss the possibility of setting up a program for the purpose fo revitalizing Dunlap as a community?

(a) very positive (b) moderatlely positive (c) neutral
(d) somewhat negative (e) very negative

19. Does the "death" of Dunlap as a community appear unavoidable to you at the present time?

No _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ Yes

Section Six: Examination of views about units of local government.

20. Do you presently think that the town government of Dunlap is an adequate unit of government for servicing most of the governmental needs of Dunlap's residents?

(a) very adequate (b) adequate (c) all right
(d) not really adequate (e) useless

21. If the Dunlap town government possessed substantially greater financial resources, do you think it would then have the ability to increase the quality of its services to Dunlap's residents?

No _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ Yes

22. Do you presently think the township government of the township within which Dunlap is located is an adequate unit of government for servicing most of the governmental needs of the township's residents?

(a) very adequate (b) adequate (c) all right
(d) not really adequate (e) useless

23. If the township government of the township within which Dunlap is located possessed substantially greater financial resources, do you think it would then have the ability to increase the quality of its services to the township's residents?

No _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ Yes

24. What level of concern do you personally feel that the county government which is housed in the courthouse in Council Grove, Kansas, shows for the well-being of Dunlap as a community?

(a) high level of concern (b) moderate level of concern
(c) neutral (d) moderately unconcerned
(e) completely unconcerned

Appendix 2

Outline of sources of program support

Program Title	Possible Supporting Agency*
1. Organic Farming and Gardening	A. Extension Service, Kansas State University. B. Farmers Home Administration, USDA C. Department of Horticulture, Kansas State University D. American Friends Service Committee E. Catholic Rural Life Conference F. Rural Development Act of 1972
2. Cooperative Community General Store	A. Small Business Administration B. Rural Development Act of 1972 C. Catholic Rural Life Conference
3. Child Foster Care Program	A. Kansas State Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services
4. Home Care Program for the Elderly	A. Kansas State Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services B. Social Security Administration C. Medicare and Medicaid
5. Foster Grandparent Program	A. ACTION (within Department of HEW) B. Kansas State Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services

6. Community Center Project	A. University for Man, Kansas State University B. YMCA C. National Council on Aging
7. Mobile Health Care Program	A. Public Law 89-749 B. Medicare and Medicaid
8. Low Cost Housing	A. Farmers Home Administration, USDA B. Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 C. Housing and Public Assistance Administration of Department of HUD D. Federal Housing Administration E. H.U.D. Rural Housing Grant Program
9. Community Beautification Program	A. "Green Thumb" program of Department of Labor B. Department of Horticulture, Kansas State University C. Extension Service, College of Agriculture, Kansas State University
10. Adult and Continuing Education Program	A. Division of Continuing Education, Kansas State University B. Department of Continuing Education, Emporia State College C. Council Grove High School D. University for Man, Kansas State University

62

11. Vocational Rehabilitation Program	A. Kansas State Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services B. Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1965 C. Social Security Administration D. Medicare
12. Community Flood Control and Water Use Action Committee	A. Rock Creek Watershed District B. Soil Conservation Service C. Water Resources Board, Topeka

*Support from outside agencies may take many forms: grants and loans; program guidance and counseling; general information; and technical or professional skills and service.

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